288 177 which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4]

412 Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware 323 although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and 411 spring bows) along with traps constituted their only 224 hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet 227 in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*[7] and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8] These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs, 411 spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were 501 used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their 556 wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbarism" [10] and even of this wealth they possessed little. 119 181 The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

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[4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women [280] did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezochi Kikō (Etorofuto Kikō)*. 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island].

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropukuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importation of iron did away with bone and stone tools and Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to the point where the method of making this ware was forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by the improved Japanese net and the materials from which these nets were made changed from bark to hemp thread while iron points were used on the fish spears. It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more and more varied. Significant was the development of agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way. Only small areas were planted which yielded little and this little was considered a luxurious supplement to the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and by the early part of the eighteenth century the area under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes over the winter.[18]

In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped, dogs played an important economic role. These dogs were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat and skin clothing during the winters. These people were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, influenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing techniques that were to prepare them for either an agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth. At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities, small in quantity and limited in variety. After the infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which hitherto they had used only for the production of the necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade. With these goods as a medium of exchange they began to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade, gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords, lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of wealth became the accumulation of these objects which were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes ——— in lieu of the death penalty

[19] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

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trout, and other fish were sold not only as food but as fertilizer and shipped to the Kansai markets as oil cake.[30] Abalone had been dried into a product of a dark color with a slight value as merchandise. The contractors made these into dried white sea ear shell for export to Nagasaki.[31] New methods of preparing tangle were introduced into remote areas. These advancements in technique required large capital. The simple tools of the Ezo had been made by themselves or else rented from contractors for a share of the catch. But as the tools improved their manufacture passed beyond the ability of the Ezo, so the Japanese established shops under the supervision of mainlanders who used Ezo labor to make them. In addition, as the contractors expanded the area of their activities, they operated the new fishing grounds by themselves using Ainu labor. The entire expansion of the fishing industry was probably accelerated by two factors, the new market in the Kansai region for oil cake and the use of large nets. Inevitably there arose a change in the economic relationship between the Ezo and the Japanese. Hitherto the Ezo had worked independently of the contractors and had come to the post to trade only his surplus above what he needed for food and clothing. This meant a small scale trade which could only be surmounted by such devices as advancing loans to the natives so that when the Ezo paid for the loans out of their own produce they had also to repay the value of the goods.[32]

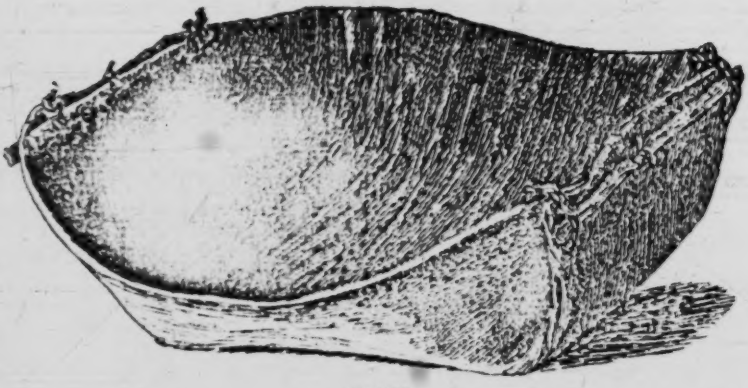
On the other hand, the contractors, with their improvements and regulations, made it possible greatly to increase the catch. (The dried sea cucumber trade in the Sōya area is an example of the advanced regulation of production.) During fishing season the Ezo in bands of thirty to fifty would come to the trade post with their chief. Borrowing such things as rice, sake, yeast, tobacco, and tools for taking sea cucumber they would go out fishing. With their boats loaded with sea cucumber they would return to the post where clerks would record the catch. This was to prevent pilfering before the catch was dried and delivered. After being checked in the Ezo would take the catch home, boil them, and skewer them either over a fire or out in the sun after which the sea cucumbers were taken back to the post. There Ezo women worked under foremen taking the sea cucumbers off the skewers and packing them for shipment. The Ezo also were used to load the boats.[33]

The trade between the contractors and the Ezo was not a mere trading process but a system of credit. No longer were the chiefs men of character but merely supervisors for the contractor. Small scale fishing could not be much improved by the use of nets but large scale fishing, i.e. salmon, trout, and herring, was operated by the contractors themselves who were no longer

[30] *Ibid.*, 403, 407.
[31] *Ibid.*, 410.
[32] See chap. 2, para. 3 and para. 4.
[33] *Igen Zokuroku* 1, on catching sea cucumbers.

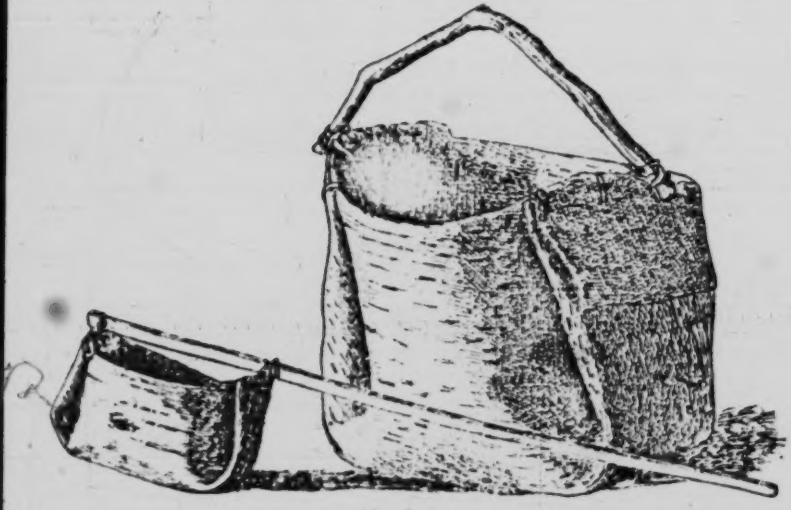
3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Wooden spoons (Fig. 75) are now in universal use, of which there is a variety in the collection, and for eating they have a flat, spatula-like instrument (Fig. 75), which they use in addition to chopsticks. The knives, or



150673
Fig. 72.
Bark Dish Used as a Fish-Plate.

rather the knife-cases, in common use are represented in Fig. 76, which shows very well the characteristic style of wood carving. The knife-blades are of the ordinary Japanese form, but the Ainos make



150688
Fig. 73.
Bark Water Bucket and Dipper.

the wooden handles and sheathes, which are usually decorated with carving. The knife is carried sticking in the girdle. One specimen in the figure, numbered 150729, has a sheath of wood and bone.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

445
442
531

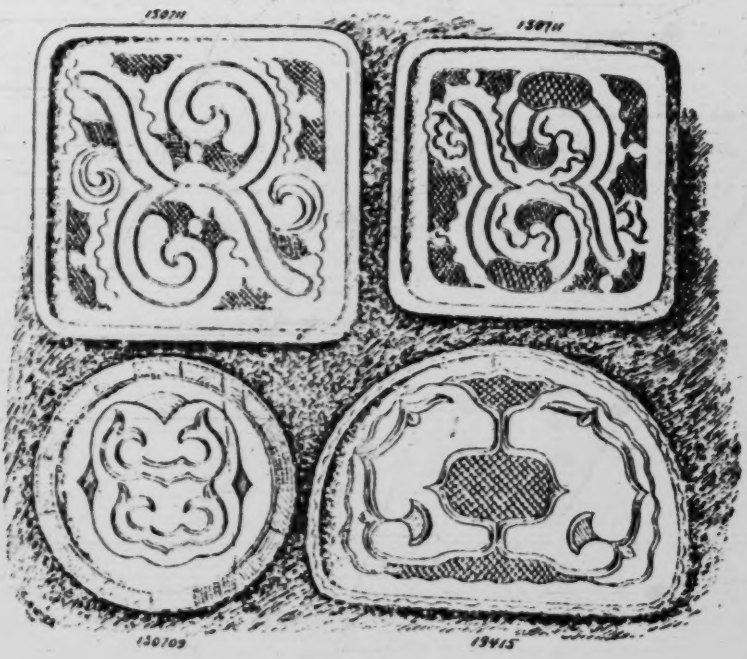


Fig. 74.
CARVED WOODEN PLATES.

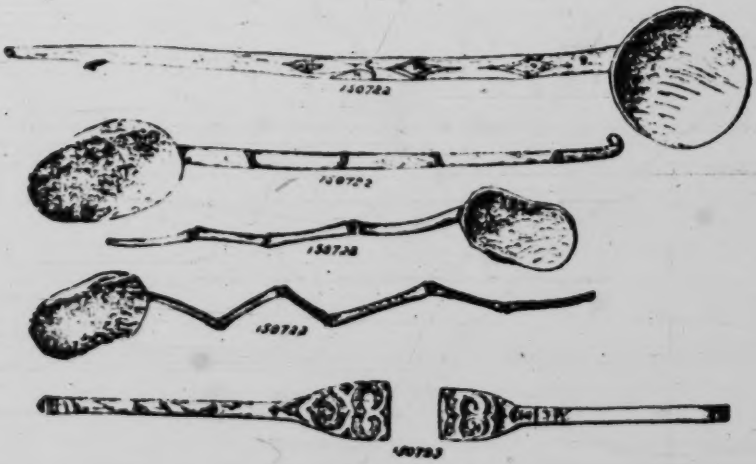


Fig. 75.
WOODEN SPOONS AND CARVED SPATULAS USED IN EATING.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Rice being an article easily obtained from the Japanese, the Ainos make oblong rice bowls by digging out thick pieces of wood. These differ somewhat in form in different parts of the island. (See Fig. 60, p. 441.)

For preparing grain, such as millet, which is cultivated here and there, they have a wooden mortar and pestle, the former standing perhaps 2 feet high, and made of a solid block of wood.

In every Aino house there may be found some treasured articles made by the Japanese. Sometimes these articles are very old, having been handed down from father to son, and they are then valued as precious relics. Of these, Japanese swords are most highly prized, after which come lacquered cups (Fig. 77), which they use for drinking. The latter, together with other small articles, are kept in Japanese round, lacquered cases, one or more of which are to be seen in every house.

A considerable variety of animal food is to be obtained in Yezo, for the Ainos are good hunters with their rude bows and arrows.

The bear is much sought after for its flesh, as well as for its skin, which is used for clothing; and set-bows are arranged in the woods with poisoned arrows, which are released when a bear comes in contact with a cord in his path. The fox and wolf also abound, the former being caught in an ingenious bow-trap. At some seasons fresh fish abound, and they dry and half smoke great quantities of it for winter use. In the National Museum there is a specimen of salmon cut into

Fig. 76.
CARVED KNIFE-CASES.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

278 411

the form of hard lumps.

224

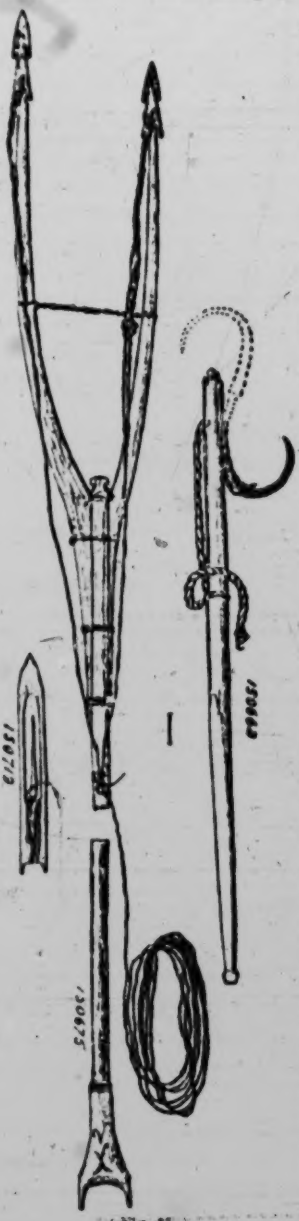


Fig. 85.

SPEARS. NEEDLE FOR MAKING FISHNETS.

Specimens of the plant from which the poison is obtained were also collected and determined by Mr. Theo. Holm as *Aconitum Japonicum*. In some parts of the country it grows in great abundance, and the fine purple flowers are very pleasing to the eye.

Small animals are caught in rude, but rather ingenious bow traps. The bow is set in a frame, as in a crossbow. The heavy arrow-shaft is notched on the side to receive the bowstring and carries a T-head. When the trap is set, the bait is placed between the T-head and the end of the frame, in such a manner that any attempt to remove it releases the string, and the T-head comes down and securely holds the animal.

In deer-shooting they have a peculiar instrument made of bone and bamboo with teeth like a comb, with which they can imitate the cry of a deer. Concealed in ambush, the hunter thus calls the animal within range of his bow.

Fishing, as at present conducted, is mostly in the hands of the Japanese. This is particularly true of the coast fisheries. Aino settlements are occasionally to be found along the banks of the larger rivers and their important tributaries, where the most primitive devices are still in use. Perhaps the most curious of their devices is a kind of spear, which is shown in Fig. 85. This is lashed to a long shaft, and is used for spearing salmon from canoes or on the river bank. The curved gaff is made of iron. It is secured to a line passing through the spear end, and the shank rests in a groove in one side, as shown. When the fish is struck, the gaff turns over, as represented by the dotted line, and hooks into the flesh, held only by the line or strip of hide, by which the fish is pulled in. Mr. Blackiston has described the use of this spear in the following words:

They [the Ainos] are expert in the use of the spear, often striking a fish in motion as much as 3 feet under water at some yards' distance, but generally the fish is "jabbed" with-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126
301

about. The beads are of Japanese manufacture, the plate of unknown origin. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150706

The women are unwilling to part with their beads, which they seem to value either as heirlooms or as sacred treasures. Six dollars was once refused for a string smaller than this, although the people are extremely poor. All such ornaments have been obtained by trade with the Japanese, and many of them seem to be quite old. (A similar necklace shown in Pl. XC.)

Earrings.—Made of silver, with blue glass beads. Worn by the women. Specimens are of medium size, 3¼ inches in diameter, of Japanese manufacture. (Similar earrings shown in Plates XCIII and CIV.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150707

Earrings.—Made of white metal. Worn by women; 2¼ inches in diameter. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150708

126 *Wooden plate.*—A round plate with carved pattern inside. Diameter, 7 inches. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150708

Wooden plate.—A round plate with carved pattern inside. Diameter, 7 inches. (See Fig 74.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150709

Wooden plate.—A square plate with rounded corners; inside carved; 12 inches square. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150710

Wooden plates.—Two square plates, with insides carved. Respectively 9¼ and 8 inches square. (See Fig. 74.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150711

Winders for thread.—Flat pieces of carved wood of various shapes, used for winding thread. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150712

Teacup holders.—Patterned after similar articles used by the Japanese. Made of wood, carved. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150713

[301] *Cloth neck band and ornament.*—A simple band of blue-black Japanese cotton three-quarters of an inch wide, with button and button-hole to secure it around the neck. In front a nearly square flap hangs down about 1¼ inches, on which a small silver ornament is displayed. Worn mostly by children. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150714

Tattooing knives.—Ordinary Japanese knives with blades 3 to 3¼ inches in length in plain wooden handles. One of the blades bent near the end. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150715

[304] *Kaba bark.*—Birch bark used to make the soot used in tattooing. The bark is burned and the soot condensed on a dish held over the flame. The soot is rubbed into the cuts on the face and arms, giving them a permanent somewhat bluish color. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150716

Wooden dish.—Oblong, with rounded ends. Length, 6 inches; width, 3¼ inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150717

Chopsticks.—Made by the Ainos, who doubtless learned to use them from the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150718

[412] *Needle.*—Used for making fish nets. Made of wood (See Fig.85.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150719

[534] *Mokuri.*—A musical instrument played like a jew's-harp, except that the reed is made to vibrate by jerking the string with the right hand while the instrument is held in front of the mouth, not against the teeth, between the thumb and finger of the left hand, the cord pressing around the little finger. (See Fig. 80.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150720

Bark dishes.—Made of birch bark, the edges bound with bark fiber over strips of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150721

[415] *Wooden spoons.*—Various shapes and sizes, with long handles often curiously shaped to represent small branches sharply bent at the joints. Used for cooking and for eating. (See Fig. 75.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150722

Wooden flat spoons.—Shaped like small spatulas; upper surfaces carved. Used for eating. Length, about 7 inches. (See Fig. 75.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150724

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 [281]

Fish skins.—Two pieces, used for making shoes. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150725

Wooden spoons.—Shaped like spatulas, carved on the upper surface. Like 150723, but smaller. Used by women. Length, 6 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150726

Large wooden spatula.—Used as a spoon or ladle to dish out food. Length, 17 inches; width of blade, 3 inches. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150727

Wooden pipe.—A short pipe with stem carved. Length, 9 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78.) 150728

Knife and case.—The blade of Japanese manufacture. The carved case made by the Ainos. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150729

Two knife cases.—Well carved in peculiar designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 76.) 150731

[412] ●

Wooden mallet.—Formed of a branch and a portion of the main stem, which together make a naturally shaped hammer. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150732

Wooden pipes.—Usual form. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 78) 150733, 150734

[201]

Bead necklace.—Made of colored glass beads and five larger hollow metal beads in the middle. Made by Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150736

Small loom.—Used for weaving the narrow belts of ohiyo bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150737

Bark for mats.—Elm bark, ohiyo, colored brown and black for weaving the square patterns of mats, bags, etc. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150738

Shiberibirina.—Leaves of a plant dried and preserved for food. Botanical name unknown. Used in stews. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150739

Salmon roe.—Dried fish roe, as preserved for winter food. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150740

126 251 212

Dried cakes of lily root.—Two cakes about 9½ inches in diameter by ½ of an inch thick with a hole through the middle, tied together with strips of bark. The lily is probably the *she-guri* of the Japanese. Such cakes of various sizes are to be seen hanging in every house throughout Yezo, becoming thoroughly dried and seasoned by the smoke and hardened. (See also 150789.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150741

Cakes of lily root.—Similar to 150741, but smaller. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150742

String of lily root.—Dried bulbs of the lily on strings. A very common article of food to be seen suspended in the houses throughout Yezo. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150744

Nuts.—The fruits of *Trapa bicornis*. Used for food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150743

String of fruits.—Not identified, bulbels of inflorescence from some monocotyledonous plant. Used for food. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150746

Flour.—Prepared from some starch-bearing root. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150745

Dried herrings.—The fish are roughly cleaned and suspended from the beams of the houses until dried and smoked. Used for winter food. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150748

Slices of pumpkin, dried.—Not a common food among the Ainos. The pumpkin is now cultivated in the valley of Saru. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150749

Pukusa.—A kind of food; apparently the stalks of a plant, cut in small pieces. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150751

Pukusakina.—The leaves and stems of a plant belonging to the Ranunculaceae. Used for food. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150752

Beans.—Not common in Yezo. Varieties grown in the Saru Valley. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150753

Strips of bark.—Used for making the colored parts of mats. Probably from the *Tilia cordata*. (See No. 150632.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150754

126

Stalks of the rush.—Stalks of *Scirpus maritimus*; used for weaving mats. (See No. 150632.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150755

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

arundinaria are collected in sufficient quantity to thatch the frame thickly on each side. Other poles or rafters are then placed over these reeds, and through them lashed tightly to the under frame, thus preventing the thatch from being blown or washed away. Care is taken to leave an opening for the door; and the small east window—usually the only one in Ainu huts—is cut out afterwards by means of a knife. Ainu huts have never more than one storey and never more than one room and a small porch. In districts where the climate is less severe the porch is often dispensed with. In building their habitations the hairy people make no attempt whatever at symmetry or beauty; all they aim at is to make themselves a shelter and nothing more.

There are no more professional architects than professionals of any other kind in the Ainu country. Each man is his own architect, builder, and carpenter. He may occasionally receive the help of a neighbour when he is building his hut, if all hands in the family are not sufficient to carry him through his work.

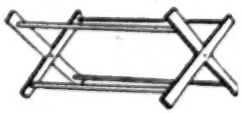
Each family has its own hut, which is used day and night by all the members. If one of the sons gets married he sometimes brings his bride to live in his father's hut, or else he goes to live in his bride's hut; but as the "hairy mother-in-law" is no better than other "mothers-in-law," the end of this arrangement is that generally the bridegroom has to build a habitation for himself and his better-half. Fortunately for him, he has to pay no ground-rent; nor has he to take a lease, nor pay the lawyer for an agreement, nor yet to buy the ground nor the materials on which and of which his not too luxurious abode is to be built. He chooses the site which is most suitable to him, and there he builds his hut as best he can; and no one is any the worse or the wiser for it. The "furnishing" is a matter of no consideration with the Ainu, as he prefers to live in an "unfurnished house." By instalments, however, as he finds his floor becoming rather damp, he provides himself with a few rough planks, which afford him comfortable sleeping accommodation; and during the winter, when fishing is not practicable, and he spends most of his day at home, he roughly carves for himself a moustache-lifter (the *Kike-ush-bashui*); a small paddle, the *Hera* (which is used both to stir the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

wine and as an implement in weaving); a pestle and mortar carved out of the trunk of a tree; and, if he be a very ambitious person and fond of his wife, he will probably make her a weaving loom as well as two or three "water-jugs" if we may call them so—vessels made of bark bent into shape, and lashed so strongly as to be water-tight, and used for carrying water as needed.

A few wooden bowls, a wooden hook, which is suspended over the fire when bear-meat is smoked, occasionally a *Kinna* (a mat), and a skin or two, are all the articles of furniture of Ainu manufacture which an Ainu can possess, though few of them possess so many. The Ainu hut has a fire-place in the centre, or rather, a fire is lighted in the centre of the hut. The fire is lighted with a flint and steel—a method learned from the Japanese—or by the friction of two sticks. The more civilised Ainu have now adopted matches. A hole in the angle of the roof acts as chimney, but unfortunately more in name than in practice.

Chairs, stools, sofas, beds, tables, etc., are all things unknown to the Ainu. While inspecting the hut it may be as well to see how the weaving-loom, the most complicated article of the Ainu household, is made and worked. There is a "yarn beam" (the *Kammakappe*), on which the "warp" of unwoven thread is wound and kept separated, and another "roll" by which the warp threads in the process of weaving



THE KAMMAKAPPE.

PORO-USA, OR "LARGE GRATING."

THE USA.

STICKS.

are kept in tension between the two gratings. There then is the *Poro-usa* (the "large grating"), through the intervals of which the warp threads pass, and the *Usa*, a similar but smaller grating placed on the other side of the roll.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the upper Tokachi, however, they are covered with the bark of trees.

Next in connection with Ainu habitations comes the skull-trophy at the east end of the hut. This is on a parallel line to the hut wall, and only a few yards away from it, and is made of a number of bi-forked poles, upon which are placed the skulls of the bears, wolves, and foxes killed by the owner of the hut. The Ainu is proud of this trophy, and if the number of bear skulls is very large, he commands a certain amount of respect from his hairy brethren. There is nothing that Ainu admire more than courage, and there is nothing in the world that an Ainu desires more than to be thought brave. When he has gained this character a man becomes in a certain way the "lion" of the village. He embellishes his trophy with a *Nusa* and *Inaos* (willow wands with overhanging shavings—*see* Chapter on Superstitions), and he always looks on it as an evidence of his manly glory. Besides this, many Ainu possess one or two live bears kept in cages. Bear hunters often secure one or more cubs, which they bring home and allow to live in the hut like one of the family or an Irishman's pig. These cubs are nursed along with and in the same manner as the children, and Ainu say that women often put them to the breast and suckle them like their own infants. Whether this is true or not I cannot say; but though I have never seen it, and therefore cannot vouch for it, it is not unlike Ainu women to do such a thing.

When the new-comers grow big and powerful enough to be dangerous, the men make a rough cage with logs of timber, placing them one over the other in a quadrangular shape, and lashing them strongly together. The bear is driven into the cage, which is then roofed over; and after a couple of years of confinement, during which it is fattened, poor Bruin is killed for a bear festival. In the lower part of the cage there is a small wooden tray by which food is served to the captive.

THE APE-KILAI, OR EARTH-RAKE, AS USED BY PIRATORI AINU.

On the north-east coast of Yezo I have also seen smaller cages, in which foxes, eagles, or other animals are kept; and I always noticed the care which Ainu took to

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

feed up the imprisoned animals. That "charity begins at home" is true even among the hairy people; for if they are kind to animals it is only for the sake of making a good meal of them on the first occasion that presents itself.

PESTLE.

It may be as well to state that the Ainu have never been known to make pottery. What they have of the kind is imported and sold to or exchanged with them by the Japanese. If I were an Irishman I should say that real Ainu pottery is made of wood. Nevertheless, large shells are often used by them as drinking vessels where wooden bowls are not obtainable. It is a common occurrence in Ainu households that one bowl is used by several individuals, and a more common occurrence still that none of the bowls are ever washed or cleaned after having been used.

MORTAR.

The small Ainu porch which stands frequently at the entrance of Ainu huts answers the purpose of a stackhouse, and in it is stored the firewood used in the house. The wooden mortar and the long pestle are kept in a corner under the porch. In the more civilised parts of Yezo these pestles and mortars are general, as the natives use them for pounding millet.

BONE SPOON.

WOODEN SPOONS AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

PESTLE AND MORTAR USED FOR POUNDING SALMON.

The pure Ainu live principally on animal food—fish and meat—sea-weed, and some kinds of roots and herbs, which

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

AINU KNIFE, WITH ORNAMENTED SHEATH.

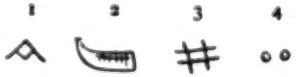
CHAPTER XXI.

Ainu Art, Ainu Marks, Ornamentations, Weapons—Graves and Tattoos.

THE expression of ideas by graphic signs is utterly unknown to the Ainu. They have no alphabet, and furthermore, they have no methods whatever of writing. Hence the utter incapacity of the hairy people to record events, time, or circumstances in their history; for even the system of picture-writing is not known to them.

Thus they have neither graven records nor any form of visible history; and tradition transmitted from mouth to mouth is all they have by way of historic continuity. The nearest approach made to graphic signs is in the owner's marks, which we occasionally find on some of their implements. The moustache-lifter is the article on which this mark is most commonly found. What these marks are meant to represent I do not know for certain; but I believe that Fig. 1 is supposed to convey the idea of a house, and Fig. 2 that of a boat; Fig. 3 a bear cage, and 4 the mere result of fancy. Even these marks are only rarely found, and have probably been suggested by Japanese writing.

The illustration shows the four specimens which I found carved on moustache-lifters.



Closely allied with writing is, of course, map-drawing and ornamentations. Map drawing can be dismissed at once, like that famous chapter on snakes in Iceland, as the Ainu know nothing of it.

Rough ornamentations on bone and wooden implements are their only artistic efforts. Truthful representations of

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

figures and animals are seldom attempted,[1] but conventionalised symbols, suggested by and based on certain forms of animal or vegetable life, are occasionally used for ornamentation.

The Ainu have no rock-sculptures, and can neither paint nor draw in any form; what they have are mere simple wood-carvings. But only a few have any aptitude for even this crude work, though of course they are not all alike. As with us we have people who are artistic and people who are Philistine, so with the Ainu, in that very humble degree which is to Western art what an acorn is to an oak.

Like all early work, Ainu art—if we may call it so—aims at a certain uniformity, especially in leaf-portraiture, so as to produce a somewhat symmetrical pattern; for at all times geometry has been the mother of design.

An Ainu does not go for his models direct to Nature, neither does he servilely copy his neighbour's work; but he gets his ideas indirectly from both these sources, and through inability to copy accurately, negligence in close study, and some amount of native imagination combined, varies the design which he has seen to such an extent as to make it in a sense original. The talent shown by different men in the art of carving varies considerably, even in men of the same tribe; while certain tribes show both aptitude and fondness for these ornamentations, whereas others have little of either.

It is the Ainu of the upper Ishikari River who chiefly excel in these carved ornamentations. The knife represented in the illustration comes from Kamikawa, and was carved with the point of a knife by the chief of the Ainu there. It took the man many months to accomplish, and it is by far the best specimen of Ainu workmanship that I saw in Yezo, though the ornamentations on it are not purely Ainu in character.

This man was a genius as compared to other Ainu, and his ideas of form and precision were considerably more developed than in most of his race. He has ornamented the sheath with conventionalised symbols, which were apparently suggested to him by leaves and branches of trees; and the suggestion of a flower can be noticed in the upper part of the handle. A

[1] The only attempt at animal representation is the small bear-head in chiefs' crowns.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

532 412 A

suggestion of fish-scales has been used by him to fill up small open spaces; others he filled up with parallel lines. The sheath is made of two parts, to allow the carver to cut the space for the blade inside; but these two parts are well fitted together, and kept fast by six rings of neatly-cut bark fastened on while fresh, so that by shrinking the two sides of the sheath are brought close together, and are as if made of one single piece.

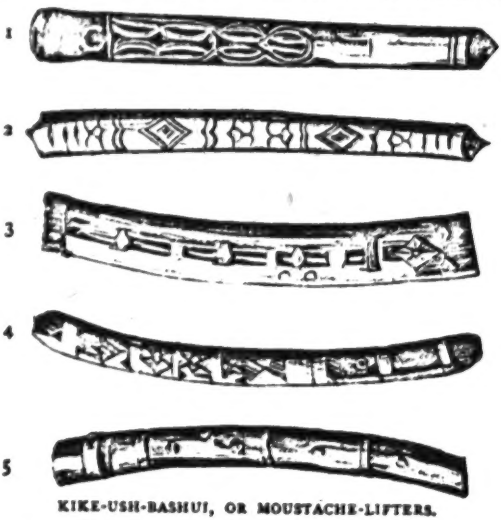
SIDE VIEW.

532 413 157

The side view of the same knife shows the clever contrivance for fastening it on to the girdle without removing the latter from around the body. This knife may be ranked among the *chefs d'œuvre* of Ainu art.

The principal characteristics of the more usual ornamentations are interesting to study.

Art of course is only the personification, so to speak, the expression of the mind, character, and knowledge of the artist; thus, in Ainu ornamentations we have patterns which could be nothing but Ainu, taken collectively, yet which show distinctly the temperament of each individual. For instance, taking



KIKE-USH-BASHUI, OR MOUSTACHE-LIFTERS.

the moustache-lifters (Figs. 1, 2, 4 in the illustration). Fig. 1, with its roundish, undecided, lines, was carved by

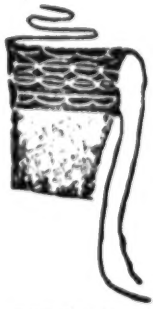
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

atsis, but never any, simple or elaborate, either on the back or front.

I have often seen women working patiently hour after hour while sitting on the tiny door of their storehouses; and the result of their labour would be half an inch of coarse stitching, which for them was a great work of art. Most Ainu now possess needles of Japanese manufacture, but in former days they had only bone needles, and instead of fine well-dyed Japanese thread were obliged to be content with the fibre of the elm tree dyed black. The ornamentations on the *atsis* of Ainu who have no Japanese needles are necessarily a great deal coarser and simpler than those which are done with steel needles and cotton threads. The essential characteristics are the same in both. In sewing together skins for winter garments fish-bone needles are often used up to this day.

These embroidered clothes, when new, are only worn on grand occasions, as at a bear festival, or when paying a visit to a neighbouring village. A few rags constitute the usual every-day costume, and no difference is made between the in-door and the out-of-door clothing. In fact, most Ainu sleep in their clothes, such as they are.

One article of dress which is worn by all alike, young and old, male or female, is the *hoshi*, or leggings. Like their gowns, these are sometimes made of the inner fibre of the elm-tree bark and sometimes of rushes and reeds plaited as in the ordinary rush matting. When of elm-tree bark, they are often embroidered in the upper part, as can be seen in the illustration. They are fastened just under the knee by means of the two upper strings, then wrapped tightly round the leg and bound round the ankle with the lower and longer ribbon. The Ainu go barefooted in the summer, but during the winter months, when the cold is too severe for this, they cover their feet with mocassins and long boots made of salmon-skin, and often of deer-skin. When the Ainu goes for a long journey or a hunt, during which he has to traverse rough ground, he generally protects his skin boots—the soles of which would



THE "HOSHI."

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

is left on, with the exception of the middle portion in front (Fig. 1). The mechanical devices of the work are most primitive. The tool is an ordinary short knife with blade somewhat curved, which the worker draws quickly towards himself along the piece of wood, holding one end of it with his hand, and pressing the other to his chest.

A slight examination of an *inau-stick* will show that it exhibits a primitive representation of a *human figure*. Its upper part is always made in the shape of a little head. The middle part commonly contains *notches*, always arranged in a certain order and definite number, according to the shape and designation of the inau: thus, in Plate XXXIV, Figs. 3, 4, there are three notches, one a little above the middle planed part, the other two always below it; in Fig. 2 there are four notches in succession; on others there are seven, and even more. On some sticks there are left on both sides, symmetrically situated, knots in the shape of arms, which are most frequently curved into a circle, — the fire-inau, the sun-inau (Fig. 3). Indeed, the Ainu themselves distinguish in the inau parts of a body, — the head, crown, neck, hair, brows, eyes, mouth, lips (or mouth alone), navel, and sexual organs (the last six, all in the form of notches), and, finally, hands and feet (the lower part).

On some, the so-called *nin'kari inau* (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3), are found even ear-rings (*nin'kari*) of shavings. This denotes a female form. On Plate XXXV, Fig. 1, may be seen two figures on one knot, — one, a female, with ear-rings; the other, a male, without them.

But the inau-stick is only one form of inau. All external inau — the so-called *soyta-inau*, that is, placed outside of the house — are usually in the form of tall poles, or even whole trees, sometimes stripped of their bark, and again with the bark on, but with notches, and always cut to shavings, or bound with shavings. These often present very complicated figures. For example, the *chup-kamui inau*, the inau to the "master" of the sun, represents a complete little fir-tree in its bark, with arms curved into a circle (symbol of the sun) in the middle, with the three ordinary notches (mouth, navel, and sexual organs) in the middle section, two pairs of oblique incisions on both

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

throne complains of the drain on the treasury caused by constant fighting with the Ainu. The neighbourhood of Akita was laid waste by them; they 'gathered together like ants, but dispersed like birds'. The Ainu inflicted heavy casualties on the Japanese in 789. Two years later a stronger and better organized force was successful in driving the enemy northwards. In 811 a commander was praised for 'destroying the lairs of the barbarians and exterminating the tribe'. Ainu chieftains were put to death, other prisoners were banished to the extreme south.

From these records the question of Ainu chieftainship arises, and the capacity of a non-agricultural people to combine in such force. Sansom suggests that pioneer Japanese settlers in the north of Honshu may have combined with the Ainu and organized their resistance.

Since the translation of the *Ainu Seisaku Shi* into English by Mr. John A. Harrison and its publication,[1] information concerning the earliest contacts with the Ainu in Hokkaido have been available to western readers. Professor Takakura's motive in spending many years in research on the subject of Japanese and Ainu contacts, and Japanese colonial policy, was similar to that of Munro. Both men were distressed by the miserable condition of the Ainu, cut off from their traditional means of livelihood. Professor Takakura was incensed that, during his youth, 'nothing was being done to improve the lot of the Ainu'.

He records that in 1514, when the founder of the Matsumae family settled in Hokkaido, the Japanese settlements were already fortified against attack from the Ainu.

The Ezo of Ou (the Ainu of Honshu), who had been powerful in the ninth century, had been almost exterminated, and their remnants were completely assimilated by the end of the eighteenth century. Some contact with the Ainu of Hokkaido had been established by the Japanese at the end of the eighth century, but it was not until the sixteenth century that numbers of Japanese immigrants settled in South Hokkaido. Hokkaido then became a Japanese trading colony. When the Matsumae clan was granted a decree of enfeofment in 1604 the Ainu were living by hunting and fishing; they bred dogs, both for hunting and haulage; they used stone and

[1] Takakura, Shinichiro, *The Ainu of Northern Japan, a Study in Conquest and Acculturation*, translated and annotated by John A. Harrison, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, April 1960.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

bone implements, and made clothing of bark cloth, skins and feathers. Barter trade with Japanese as well as Manchurian and Siberian tribes was already established, and millet was cultivated, probably introduced by the Japanese.

Chiefs called *Kotan Korokuru* (village ruling chiefs) are mentioned, but also chiefs of much larger areas, having two hundred or more retainers. In 1739 a Japanese record states that the Ainu of East Hokkaido were sturdy, and apt to defy Matsumae law.

It seems clear that the Japanese treated certain Ainu, whom they considered suitable, as paramount chiefs, but whether the Ainu themselves regarded these chiefs in this light is doubtful. However, they were able to combine against Japanese aggression in the serious rebellion of 1669 and again in 1789.

Japanese policy varied from direct aggression and prohibitions against any kind of personal contact with the native population to periods of appeasement and encouragement of the adoption of Japanese customs by the Ainu, and even miscegenation. Coastal trading posts were established, and Ainu fishermen were employed as labourers in fishing and making oilcake; they were paid in kind, which was barely sufficient for their daily needs. During the periods of forced labour they were unable to preserve and store salmon for the winter as was their custom, so when the fishing season was over they were left to starve. Hunters living away from the coast fared better; they could supply hawks, eagle feathers, skins and bear liver to the Japanese without changing their mode of life. The encouragement of agriculture in no way compensated the Ainu for the prohibitions of hunting and fishing which were, from time to time, and in various districts, imposed upon them.

London, 1961

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

Deity.[1] It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.[2] Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

The following is a description of the making of Chisei-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made ***kamui*** is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven ***inau*** is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul ***nusa***, and an ***inau*** of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his ***ramat*** may be imparted to the future ***kamui***, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the ***nusa*** of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven ***inau*** for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several ***shutu-inau kamui***, is represented by a live ember (***usat***) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the ***nusa*** of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven ***inau*** which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the ***inau*** he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by

[1] See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1

[2] Every wooden hand-made ***kamui*** is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul ***nusa*** because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements.

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity.

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth.

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI.

VARIOUS RITES

[304] [789] does not seem out of place here. The leading motive actuating women who performed and underwent a long series of far from painless operations was that tattooing, of the lips at least, was an essential preliminary to marriage. It was usual to begin the process at or before puberty on a spot on the upper lip, and to extend it gradually, the lips being usually finished by about the age of 18. Arms were often finished at about 20 and the hands later, sometimes after marriage. Arms and hands were supposed to [836] be finished before the birth of the first child. Pre-marital sexual relations were strictly prohibited, and the completion of the tattoo- [881] ing indicated that a girl was ready for marriage and motherhood. It does not appear that the change was marked by any rite.[1]

[773] But though tattooing (*manoko shiri woshmari*) had not within living memory been backed by any religious observance, its use was warranted by myth attributing its origin to a supernatural being, either Kamui Fuchi or A-e-oina Kamui. There are also mythical tales relating how knowledge of it was received or stolen from the Koropok-un-guru.

[824] In preparation for tattooing, bark of the ash-tree (*iwa-ni*) or [386] sometimes the spindle-wood (*komke-ni*) was cut into small pieces and boiled, producing an infusion of a dark greenish colour. This did not affect the colour of the tattooing, which was done with soot (*pash*) from birch bark. The bark was lighted under the pot and it deposited a fine soot (*supash*). The infusion (*nire*) was applied three times, before the incisions, immediately after and when the soot had been lightly rubbed in. It was supposed to be healing and perhaps also to fix the pigment.

The operator did not copy from a pattern, nor did she first paint the design on the skin. She began with tiny incisions and extended them in repeated operations. Tekatte Fuchi says that the tattooing of face and forearms could be completed in about two years, but [622] that forearms were usually done at intervals extending up to ten [554] years. The daughter of a chief was supposed to finish earlier, either to set an example or to exert a magical influence on the welfare of the village.

[412] It is many years since obsidian flakes were used, though their use probably outlasted the general neolithic culture. More recently a small knife with a razor edge has been employed. Blood was

[174] [1] From this it would appear that there was a long period between puberty and marriage but Munro has given no further information.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 to serve the *ramat* of the dead. The results of inquiries in different [774] parts of the Hokkaido indicate that most Ainu still make lavish provision for their departed relatives. The following lists include things which formerly were, and for the most part still are, considered indispensable for adult Ainu.

Grave-goods for men include: a bow with arrows in a quiver; a spear and a fish-spear with hook; fish-hooks and lines; a knife (*makiri*); a heavy knife bevelled on one side[1] (*tashiro*); a sword; flint and steel with tinder (now a box of matches); a pipe and tobacco; spare shoes, leggings and working clothes; a feeding-bowl and chopsticks; (food may be given in some places, but is generally thought unnecessary).

[775] There is no libation wand; Ainu souls, having become *kamui*, [776] get libations from the living, and prayer is no longer necessary. Kamui Fuchi looks after them and conveys requests.

Grave-goods for women include: a loom (*attush karap*); a spindle (*kanit*); thick needles for shoes and thinner ones for clothes; various kinds of thread; a chemise (*mouri*) and two other spare garments; shoes; an iron pot, a bowl, a spoon and a cooking-spoon; for an old woman usually a pipe and tobacco and now matches; a knife and a sickle; a digging-stick or pick (*shittap*) made from a branch or the antler of a stag. Many of these objects are scarce and difficult to replace; their inclusion in the grave-goods is evidence of the strength of the ancestral cult.

Burial Rites and Customs

The wrapped corpse is attached by the hempen straps to the carrying-pole (*chihoma-ni*), an oak or ash sapling. When this mode of burial is followed the corpse leaves the house feet foremost and, [178] it is said, was formerly carried to the grave in this way. Now that coffins are in fashion it is often turned round outside the house to [184] go head first. At Piratori the body still goes feet first, but at Nibutani, three miles away, the head faces the cemetery. Perhaps this is because here the cemetery is to the east, so the feet are to the west.

Burial takes place after the sun has passed the meridian. At funerals for both sexes a close female relative leads the procession, carrying a small lacquered vessel for water, another related woman

● [412] [844]

[1] This shape recalls that of obsidian knives, and it was interesting to learn from Rennuikesh that in the north it was used to cut the umbilical cord. —N.G.M.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usually done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member households of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance, those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[49]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*, and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

Food-getting Activities.

Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order to sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic importance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest form, the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1, [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]